

## Message Text

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S/S-MR. ORTIZ

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FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 0070 ACTION SECSTATE Q JAN 76

QUOTE

S E C R E T USUN 0070

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FOR THE SECRETARY, MESSRS. SISCO, ATHERTON AND LEWIS ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, XF

SUBJECT: EMB MOYNIHAN'S DRAFT STATEMENT ON PLO PARTICIPATION  
FOR JANUARY 12 SC DEBATE

TEXT FOLLOWS OF AMB MOYNIHAN'S DRAFT STATEMENT FOR JANUARY 12  
SC MEETING:

QUOTE

MR. PRESIDENT,

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AS WILL BE RECALLED, ON DEC4, 1975, THE LAST OCCASION ON WHICH

THE COUNCIL DEALT WITH MIDDLE EAST AFFAIRS, IT WAS PROPOSED TO INVITE THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THAT DEBATE WITH "THE SAME RIGHTS OF PARTICIPATION AS ARE CONFERRED WHEN A MEMBER STATE IS INVITED TO PARTICIPATE UNDER RULE 37."

THE SAME PROPOSAL IS MADE TODAY. (BEGIN BRACKETS) ASSUMING THE PROPOSAL HAS IN FACT BEEN MADE. (END BRACKETS)

THE PROPOSAL OF DECEMBER 4 ELICITED THE STRONGEST PROTEST FROM SOME MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES. OUR POSITION TODAY IS UNCHANGED FROM THAT OF FOUR WEEKS AGO, BUT THE POSITION OF THE SC (BEGIN UNDERLINE) HAS (END UNDERLINE) CHANGED, FOR ON THAT OCCASION, DESPITE THE CLEARLY STATED AND OVERWHELMINGLY PERSUASIVE AND AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS OF OPPOSITION BY A NUMBER OF MEMBER STATES, INCLUDING THREE PERMANENT MEMBERS, A MAJORITY DISMISSED THESE STATEMENTS, ABOLISHED PRECEDENT, REWROTE THE RULES AND EXTENDED THE INVITATION AS PROPOSED.

IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT PRESIDENT FORD, IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE CONGRESS ON SEPT 18, 1974, SAID: "WE WHO BELIEVE IN AND LIVE BY MAJORITY RULE MUST ALWAYS BE ALERT TO THE DANGER OF THE 'TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY.'" MAJORITY RULE THRIVES ON THE HABITS OF ACCOMMODATION, MODERATION AND CONSIDERATION OF THE INTERESTS OF OTHERS."

IF THERE ARE MEMBERS, AND UNDERSTANDABLY THERE MIGHT BE, WHO WONDER THAT THE US SHOULD USE THIS CONCEPT SO EXTENSIVELY, AND CALL THE ATTENTION OF OTHERS TO IT, THERE MAY BE SOME VALUE IN POINTING OUT THAT THE CONCEPT AND THE PHRASE ARE INTIMATELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE EARLY POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE US ITSELF. WE HAD SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH NOT JUST A NEW NATION, BUT A NEW KIND OF SOCIETY, ONE WHICH WOULD COMBINE THE RULE OF LAW WITH THE RULE OF THE MAJORITY. OURS, WE ASSERTED, WAS TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF LAWS, NOT OF MEN, AND YET WE ALSO ASSERTED THAT OUR DECISIONS WOULD BE MADE BY A MAJORITY OF MEN. CLEARLY THERE IS A TENSION BETWEEN THESE TWO PRINCIPLES, AND APPROPRIATELY AMERICANS OF THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY WERE CONCERNED WITH THIS TENSION. THE GREATEST CONCERN FOCUSED ON WHETHER THE MAJORITY, RATHER THAN SUSTAINING THE RULES OF THE SOCIETY, WOULD COMMENCE TO CHANGE THEM AT RANDOM, AT WHIM, WHETHER THE MAJORITY WOULD COMMENCE TO DEPRIVE THE MINORITY OF ITS RIGHTS. WHICH IS TO SAY THE MAJORITY AT ANY ONE TIME WOULD

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SUSPEND THE RULE OF LAW WITH RESPECT TO THE MINORITY AT ANY ONE TIME. IN THE SHORT RUN THIS WOULD MAKE FOR SEVERE INJUSTICE, BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY, IN THE LONG RUN IT WOULD MAKE FOR THE COLLAPSE OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM, FOR SOONER OR LATER ALMOST EVERYONE WOULD FIND HIMSELF IN THE MINORITY AND EXPERIENCE THE REALITY THAT THE SYSTEM WAS NOT JUST, WAS NOT TO BE DEPENDED ON, AND SO IN THE END THE NUMBER WHO COULD BE DEPENDED ON TO DEFEND THE SYSTEM WOULD DIMINISH, AND IN THE END THE SYSTEM WOULD DISAPPEAR, AND WITH IT BOTH

LIBERTY AND JUSTICE, THE SEPARATE CLAIMS OF WHICH HAVCNG COMMENCED THE PROCESS, WOULD DISAPPEAR AS WELL.

WHAT IS AT ISSUE TODAY -- NOT IN ITS ENTIRETY, BUT IN SIGNIFICANT MEASURE -- IS THE INTEGRITY OF THE PROCESSES OF THE SC OF THE UN. WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN THE STARTLING DECGINE IN THE CONFIDENCE WITH WHICH THE PROCESSES OF THE GA ARE VIEWED. THIS CHANGE HAS COME ABOUT -- QUICKLY, ALMOST PRECIPITOUSLY -- OWING TO THE BEHAVIOR OF A MAJORITY OF THE NATIONS THERE, WHICH IN THE QUEST OF SHORT TERM GAINS, HAS SOUGHT TO IMPOSE ITS WILL ON THE MINORITY BY MEASURES WHICH COULD ONLY SUCCEED IF THE MAJORITY ACCEPTED THEM AS LEGITIMATE, WHICH CLEAGTY THEY WERE NOT, AND IN CONSEQUENCE OF WHICH NOT ONLY THE MEASURES FAILED, BUT THE AUTHORITY OF THE ASSEMBLY DISJSTROUSLY AND PRECIPITOUSLY DECLINED.

THE DECISIVE FEATURE OF THOSE MEASURES WAS THAT THEY IGNORED TRUTH -- PALPABLE, VISIBLE, UNALTERJBLE TRUTH - ' AND EMBRACED UNTRUTH.

WE HAVE COMMENCED THIS SAME PROCESS IN THE SC, ON DEC 4TH, IN DEFINANCE OF ALL THE RULES AND PRECEDENTS OF THE SC, AND IN EQUAL DEFIANCE OF THE REALITIES ON WHICH THOSE RULES AND PRECEDENTS HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED, AND IN THE FACE OF THE CLEAR NON-ACCEPTANCE BY A LARGE MINORITY OF THE COUNCIL, THE MAJORITY OF THE COUNCIL VOTED TO CONFER UPON THE PLO, ZHICH IS NOT A STATE, AND WHICH DOES NOT EVEN PRETEND TO BE A STATE, "THE SAME RIGHTS OF PARTICIPATION AS ARE CONFERRED WHEN A MEMBER STATE IS INVITED TO PARTICIPATE...."

THE OBJECT OF THIS ACTION BY THE MAJORITY WAS NOT ENABLE THE VLO TO BE HEARD CN TH S COUNCIL CHAMBER. THIS COULD HAVE BEEN DONE READILY UNDER THE EXISTING RULES, WHICH PROVIDE FOR JUST SUCH PARTICIPATION BY JUST SUCH ORGANIZATIONS. THE OBJECT OF THE  
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ACTION BY THE MAJORITY WAS TO USE, OR RATHER MISUSE, THE PROCEEDINGS OF THIS COUNCIL TO MAKE OF THE PLO SOMETHING IT IS NOT, TO CHANGE REALITY BY MISREPRESENTING IT, AND TO DO SO IN DEFIANCE OF THE MOST URGENT PROTESTATIONS OF THE MINORITY OF THIS COUNCIL, AND OF THE US GENERALLY. IT IS PAINFUL TO STATE, BKT T IS NECESSARY TO STATE, THAT THIS MAJORITY WAS NOT MADE UP OF NATIONS WHICH CONDUCT THEIR OWN AFFAIRS BY MAJORITY RKLE, AND SO A CERTAIN TOLERANCE SHOULD BE EXPECTED, AND YET THE ACTION OF THE COUNCIL THAT DAY TRANSGRESSED ALL BOUNDS OF PRESENT TOLERATION. LET ME RECALL MY STATEMENT ON THAT OCCASION:

"...THE US DELEGATION HAS INSISTED UPON A VOT ON THE ISSUE OF INVITING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PLO TO APPEAR BEFORE THE SC. AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, WE SHALL VOTE AGAINST THEIR BEING INVITED TO APPEAR.

WE HAVE WITNESSED A CONCERTED ATTEMPT TO DISREGARD THE RULES OF PROCEDURE AND TO ACCORD TO THE PLO A ROLE GREATER EVEN THAN THAT WHICH OVER THE YEARS THE COUNCIL HAS GRANTED TO OBSERVER GOVERNMENTS, AND A ROLE GREATER BY FAR THAN HAS IN MORE RECENT TIMES BEEN GRANTED TO THE SPOKESMEN OF LEGITIMATE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS INVITED HERE UNDER RULE 39.

THE US IS NOT PREPARED TO AGREE TO AN AD HOC DEPARTURE FROM THE RULES OF PROCEDURE TAILORED TO MEET THE ASSERTED NEEDS OF THE PLO.

WHAT IS MORE IMPORTANT, MY GOVERNMENT IS NOT PREPARED TO ACQUIESCE IN AN ACTION WHICH WILL UNDERMINE THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, WHICH IS THE ONLY PROCESS THAT CAN LEAD TO PEACE. FOR REPEATEDLY, AND AS RECENTLY AS THE DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY, TOLD THE GA OF THEIR DISDAIN FOR SYSTEMATIC NEGOTIATION. THEY HAVE OPENLY DECLARED THEIR HOSTILITY, INDEED THEIR CONTEMPT, FOR THE WORK OF THIS COUNCIL. THEY CATEGORICALLY REJECTED SC RES 242, WHICH FOR YEARS HAS SERVED AS THE ONLY AGREED BASIS FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATION. AND NOW, WE FIND THE PLO CITING ACTIONS TAKEN IN THE GA AND THE SC AS THE BASIS FOR STILL FURTHER EROSION OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

FOR THESE FUNDAMENTAL REASONS WE ARE TOTALLY OPPOSED TO INVITING THE PLO. TO DO SO WOULD DISSERVE THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

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THE NOBLEST AND MOST FUNDAMENTAL AIM OF THE SC IS TO ACHIEVE PEACE AND SECURITY. IN THE CASE OF THE MIDDLE EAST, MY GOVERNMENT IS DEDICATED TO ACTIVE LEADERSHIP IN THE PURSUIT OF THAT GOAL. MY GOVERNMENT HAS LONG MAINTAINED THAT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE MUST BE REFLECTED IN THE ARRANGEMENTS THAT WILL BRING PEACE AND SECURITY TO THE MIDDLE EAST.

THE EFFORT WHICH HAS BEEN MADE TO FLOUT THE PROCEDURES OF THIS COUNCIL AND TO DISREGARD ENTIRELY THE SENSITIVITIES OF THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL CAN ONLY COMPLICATE THE SEARCH FOR PEACE. WE URGE ALL WHO SHARE THE HOPE FOR A JUST PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST TO WITHHOLD THEIR SUPPORT FROM THIS EGREGIOUS ATTEMPT TO USE THIS BODY TO DEAL WITH AN AMORPHOUS TERRORIST ORGANIZATION AS THOUGH IT WERE A CONCRETE ENTITY WITH THE ATTRIBUTES OF A SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENT".

I WISH TO EMPHASIZE AT THIS POINT THAT I AM NOT ADDRESSING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OUR PROCEEDINGS HERE ARE OF INTEREST TO THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. I AM NOT EVEN ADDRESSING AT THIS POINT WHETHER OR NOT THE PLO SHOULD BE VIEWED BY US AS REPRESENTING THESE INTERESTS. THE US VIEW THAT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE

PALESTINIAN PEOPLE ARE IN INTRINSIC PART OF THE PROBLEM OF  
LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS WELL KNOWN AND IS UNCHANGED.  
THIS IS NOT THE MATTER I AM ADDRESSING. IT IS NOT MY INTENTION  
TO DEAL WITH THESE MATTERS TODAY.

MY CONCERN TODAY IS WITH PEACE IN THE UN, IN THE SC, WITH  
THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE NATIONS REPRESENTED HERE, AND FOR  
THE NATIONS WHOSE RIGHTS UNDER THE CHARTER WE ARE REQUIRED BY THAT  
CHARTER TO PROTECT, NATIONS WHOSE CONSENT TO THESE ARRANGEMENTS IS  
INDISPENSIBLE TO THEIR EFFICACY, AND WHOSE CONSENT CAN ONLY FLOW  
FROM THE CONFIDENCE THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS WILL IN FACT BE  
EFFICACIOUS.

THE FIRST AND FOREMOST OF THESE RIGHTS IS THAT THE COUNCIL WILL  
DO NOTHING WHICH WILL THREATEN THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND  
POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF A MEMBER STATE. OF SUCH ILLEGITIMATE  
ACTIONS, NONE COULD BE MORE DESERVING A CENSURE THAN FOR THE COUNCIL  
TO SHOW ITSELF AS BEING IN SUPPORT OF A STATE, A GROUP OF STATES, OR  
A MILITANT MOVEMENT DEVOTED TO THE DESTRUCTION OF A MEMBER STATE. TH  
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IS  
WE ARE EVIDENTLY ABOUT TO DO TODAY. WE WILL DO IT TODAY BECAUSE  
THE MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL SEE THEMSELVES IN NO  
WAY THREATENED BY THE ACTION.

BUT LET ME SUGGEST WHAT WE MAY BE DOING TOMORROW.

IT WAS THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF IRAQ, WHO, IN THE  
COUNCIL'S MEETING ON DEC 4, FIRST ADVOCATED THE FORMULA FOR PLO  
PARTICIPATION IN THIS DEBATE WHICH IS NOW CITED AS A PRECEDENT. WOULD

D  
THE REPRESENTATIVE OF IRAQ WISHES TO ACCORD THE SAME STATURE  
TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE KURDISH NATIONAL MOVEMENT, A BAND OF  
BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN WHO DEFEND WITH PASSION AND CONVICTION THEIR  
ASSERTION OF CLAIMS TO ANCESTRAL LANDS AGAINST THE INCURSION AND  
DOMINATION OF WHOLLY ALIEN PEOPLES  
REPRESENTING GOVERNMENTS  
WHICH PERSECUTE THEM IN HORRENDOUS WAYS, A STRUGGLE THAT HAS  
BEEN WAGED SINCE BEFORE THERE WERE MUSLIMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST,  
INDEED SINCE BEFORE THERE WERE CHRISTIANS?

MR. PRESIDENT, IF ZANZIBAR, OR YOUR OWN ISLAND OF PEMBA,  
SHOULD BREAK ITS ONLY RELATIVELY RECENTLY ESTABLISHED TIES WITH  
YOUR GOVERNMENT, WOULD WISH ITS REPRESENTATIVES TO BE RECEIVED  
HERE WITH THE RIGHTS OF PARTICIPATION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF A  
STATE. OR, SUPPOSING IT WAS MERELY A MATTER OF A GROUP OF  
ZANZIBARIANS LIVING IN A NEIGHBORING COUNTRY, XX  
AND SHELTERED BY THEM. THERE ARE SUCH COUNTRIES IN EAST AFRICA,  
AS INDEED THE WORLD OVER. SUPPOSING THAT COUNTRY

ASKED THAT ITS CLCENTS COME HERE AND BE RECEIVED WITH THE RIGHTS OF PARTICIVATION OF A MEMBER COUNTRY TO CLAIM A SOVEREIGNTY WHICH CAN ONLY BE THAT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF TANZANIA?

IF THE RECENTLY EXILED LEADERS OF BENIN WERE TO GET A FRIENDLY STATE TO BRING THEIR COMPLAINT BEFORE US, WOULD MY DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUE ADVOCATE THEIR INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE WITH US WITH SUCH RIGHTS IN THE DELIBERATIONS WHICH WOULD ENSUE? I WOULD URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO THINK BEFORE THEY ANSWER. PERHAPS THEY 8)) AGREE THAT THIS SHOULD BE DONE. PERHAPS IT SHOULD BE. THE US MISSION TO THE UN RECENTLY CALCULATED THE LENGTH OF TIME  
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SINCE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MEDIAN MEMBER OF THE UN WAS OVERTHROWN BY INTERNAL VIOLENCE. IT TURNED OUT TO BE ELEVEN YEARS. NOT A VERY LONG TIME. NOT LONG ENOUGH FOR MEMORIES TO DIE, OR LEADERS TO DIE IF THEY MANAGED TO ESCAPE. SHALL WE HAVE SIXTY FORMER GOVERNMENTS SITTING HERE IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER, ALONG WITH, SAY, SIXTY WOULD-BE GOVERNMENTS? WE HAVE ENTANGLED THE SEATING ARRANGEMENTS FOR THIS COUNCIL MEETING. SHOULD WE REPLICATE THE GA HALL?

SUPPOSING THE FORMER KING OF LIBYA, A REVERED HEAD OF STATE IN HIS TIME, NOW LIVING SADLY IN EXILE IN A NEARBY STATE, SUPPOSING WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF A FRIENDLY STATE THE KING WERE TO SEIZE THIS COUNCIL OF DISCUSSION OF HIS RIGHTS IN PART OR ALL OF THE TERRITORY CONTROLLED BY THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF LIBYA. WOULD MY DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUE AMB KIKHIA ARGUE FOR HIS FULL PARTICIPATION?

WHAT ABOUT MEDIEVAL KINGDOMS SUCH AS THE UKRAINE, WHICH HAVE DISAPPEARED? OUGHT THEY TO BE REVIVED AND WELCOMED HERE? WHAT ABOUT MODERN STATES, MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, WHICH HAVE DISAPPEARED? SHALL THEY BE REVIVED?

WOULD MY DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES FROM PAKISTAN DESIRE THAT A SEAT BE PROVIDED FOR THE PUSHTUNS, PERHAPS UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF A NEIGHBORING NATION IN SOUTH ASIA. THERE ARE SAID TO BE NATIONS WHICH MIGHT LOOK WITH FAVOR ON SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT. IF NOT PUSHTUNISTAN, THEN WHAT ABOUT BULKHISTAN?

I DO NOT BELIEVE I HAVE EXHAUSTED THE LIST. THERE ARE GREAT POWERS HERE SEATED AS PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THIS COUNCIL OF WHOM I COULD ASK A SIMILAR QUESTION. IN FACT, MY MERRY MENTION LAST MONTH OF A DISTINGUISHED DISENTICED CITIZEN OF THE COUNTRY OF ONE MEMBER OF THIS COUNCIL CAUSED THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF THAT STATE TO ABSENT HIMSELF FROM THE HALL OF THE OAS. WOULD HE NOW CONCEDE THAT THIS DISTINGUISHED MAN, IF HE WERE TO CHARACTERIZE HIMSELF AS THE HEAD OF A LIBERATION MOVEMENT, COULD BE

INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS COUNCIL' DELIBERATIONS AS IF HE  
REPRESENTED A MEMBER STATE OF THE UN?

TO SUGGEST THE CHAOS WHICH WOULD DESCEND UPON THIS ORGANIZATION,  
AND THE WORLD WHICH IT REPRESENTS, IF THE SC WERE TO ABANDON  
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THE DISTINCTION AS TO WHAT IS AND WHAT IS NOT A MEMBER STATE IS  
NOT AT ALL TO ARGUE FOR AN INFLEXIBLE AND FROZEN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM  
DEDICATED TO PRESERVING THE STATUS QUO INTERESTS OF EXISTING GOVERN-  
MENTS. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE UN ARGUES THE VERY OPPOSITE. THOUGH

THIRTY YEARS WE HAVE WITH TOLERABLE CONSISTENCE MAINTAINED THE  
RULE THAT THIS IS AN ORGANIZATION MADE UP OF SOVEREIGN AND  
INDEPENDENT STATES, WHILST AT THE SAME TIME THIS SAME  
ORGANIZATION HAS PRESIDED OVER THE CREATION OF AN UNPRECEDENTED  
NUMBER OF NEW STATES. TO OPPOSE CHAOS IS NOT TO OPPOSE SELF-  
DETERMINATION. TO THE CONTRARY, IT IS TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE. FOR  
WHAT CHAOS BREEDS IS EMPIRE: THE IMPERIUM OF OUTSIDERS  
INEVITABLY DRAWN TO THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH CHAOS CREATES.

IT WAS PRECISELY TO AVOID REPEATING THIS ANCIENT SEQUENCE  
AS THE END OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR APPROACHED, THAT AN AMERICAN  
PRESIDENT PROPOSED THAT THE PEACE SETTLEMENT BE BASED ON AN  
ENTIRELY NEW PRINCIPLE, THAT OF SELF-DETERMINATION. IT  
WAS HE WHO PROCLAIMED THIS WESTERN CONCEPT, AND AT HIS INITIATIVE  
THAT IT BECAME ENSHRINED, HOWEVER, IMPERFECTLY, IN THE PEACE  
SETTLEMENT AND IN THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. IT WAS  
FROM THE VISION OF THIS AMERICAN PRESIDENT THAT THE STATE  
SYSTEM OF THE MIDDLE EAST AROSE. IT IS BECAUSE OF THIS AMERICAN  
PRESIDENT THAT WE SIT HERE TODAY DISCUSSING THE RIGHTS OF THE  
STATES IN THAT REGION, RIGHTS FOUNDED ON SELF-DETERMINATION. IT IS  
PERHAPS, THEN, NOT WITHOUT SOME HOPE OF BEING HEEDED THAT THE  
US MIGHT OFFER SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THIS UNIVERSALLY HONORED

IDEAL. AN IDEAL WHICH THE WORLD SHARES WITH US.

WHAT WE UNDERSTAND BY NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION MAY BE ACHIEVED  
THROUGH A VARIETY OF POLITICAL INSTRUMENTALITIES, BUT THE ONE WAY  
IT CANNOT BE ACHIEVED IS THROUGH THE IMPOSITION UPON A PEOPLE OF  
LEADERSHIP BY OUTSIDE FORCES. WE WOULD SAY, AGAIN NOT WITHOUT HOPE  
OF BEING HEEDED, THAT SELF- DETERMINATION IS A DEMOCRATIC IDEA. IT  
IS AN IDEA BASED ON LAW, ON PROCEDURE, ON CONSENT.

IT IS THUS IN THE NAME OF SELF-DETERMINATION THAT THE US DECLARES  
ITS UNSURMOUNTABLE OPPOSITION TO THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PLO IN THE  
ROLE PROPOSED FOR IT BY THE MAJORITY OF THIS SC.

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I REPEAT:

THE PLO IS NOT A STATE; IT DOES NOT PRETEND TO BE A STATE. FOR THE MOST ELEMENTAL OF REASONS, ONLY MEMBER STATES CAN PARTICIPATE IN OUR PROCEEDING AS MEMBER STATES. UNLESSBN OF COURSE, WE CHANGE THE RKLES, WHEREUPON WE SHALL LOOK FORWRD TO WELCOMING THE DISSIDENT FACTIONS AND NATIONALITIES OF HALF THE WORLD. FOR IN POINT OF FACT, ROUGHLY HALF THE NATIONS IN THW WORLD TODAY FACE SERCOSS TO EXTREME PROBLEMS OF INTERNAL COHESION, OWING TO INTERNAL ETHNIC CONFLICT. THIS IS TRUE OF MORE THAN HALF THE PRESENT MEMBERS OF THE SC.

MOREOVER, THE PLO, WHICH IS NOT A STATE, MUCH LESS A MEMBER STATE, DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT TO EXIST OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, WHICH IS A MEMBER STATE, AND WHOSE RIGHT TO EXIST IS GKARANTEED BY THE CHARTER WHICH THIS COUNCIL IS PLEDGED TO UPHOLD.

FINALLY, THE PLO, WHICH IS NOT A STATE, AND WHICH DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT TO EXIST OF ISRAEL, WHICH IS A STATE, FURTHER REFUSES TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE AUTHORITY OF THIS COUNCIL WHICH IN RESOLUTIONS 24 AND 338 HAS UNDERTAKEN TO UPHOLD THE RIGHTS OF THE STATES OF THE MIDDLE EAST. IF I MAY USE A JUDICIAL ANALOGY, NOT INAPROPRIATE HERE, THE PGO IS IN CONTEMPT OF THIS COUNCIL. THE ONLY PURPOSE FOR WHICH IT COULD BE APPROPRIATELY BEFORE THIS COUNCIL WOULD BE TO PURGE ITSELF OF THIS CONTEMPT.

THERE IS NOTHING FURTHER TO BE SAID. IF IN THE FACE OF THESE FACTS THIS COUNCIL PROCEEDS NONETHELESS AS THE MAJORITY EVCDENTLY DESIRES TO PROCEED, NOT ONLY IS THE PEACE OF THE MIDDLE EAST JEOPARDIZED, BUT THE VERY CONCEPT OF A WORLD ORGANIZATION DEVOTED TO THE MAINTENANCE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY COMMENCES WHAT COULD PROVE AN IRREVERSIBLE DECLINE.

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